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Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation[1]

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INTRODUCTION

101 121 THE problem of this paper is to explain why some members of the Mandan-Hidatsa village of Lone Hill[2] become more acculturated than others. Our particular thesis is that the differences in degree of acculturation found among the Indian people are in large measure a product of early experience in the intimate family group, and the cultural orientation of their parents or their surrogates.

177 121 There are striking differences in extent of acculturation in Lone Hill. They are manifest in type of home, education, subsistence, speech, and manner, and would be readily apparent even to the most casual observer. In a previous paper it has been shown that some families in Lone Hill follow the Crow lineage kinship system and Indian values while others have adopted the American kinship and value systems (Bruner 1955). A former superintendent of the Agency, who is also a trained social scientist, has written, " . . . there is at Fort Berthold every degree of acculturation, from the family living on the reservation in the hoe culture age of the original village life to a few well-to-do ranchers with nearly every modern convenience in their homes" (Riefel 1952:125). Our purpose in this paper is not to describe these differences in acculturation in any detail, nor is it to correlate them with a check list of unweighted factors; it is rather to delineate the process by which they arise in the family situation and to analyze the larger social context in which they occur.

HISTORY AND METHOD

Any study of acculturation is facilitated to the extent that a means can be established to control comparisons (Eggan 1954); in this paper the control stems from comparison of group differences within one village (cf. Spindler 1955; Rapoport 1954). The criteria for segmenting the population according to degree of acculturation will be based upon differential participation in contemporary reservation culture and not upon the presence or absence of aboriginal Indian or white traits. The people of Lone Hill live in a culture that has emerged from the aboriginal culture of their ancestors and has borrowed from local white, mass American, and pan-Indian cultures.

177 175 The Upper Missouri River Valley was the scene of turbulent changes during the past 200 years. Within this period the horse was introduced, many white men came and with them trade, numerous manufactured goods, devastating plagues of smallpox, the arrival of white homesteaders, the development of surrounding towns, and deliberate attempts by missionaries and other members of a superordinate majority to change a subordinate Indian minority, including the efforts of the military and of the Indian Bureau. An

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177 175 indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

105 177 Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

[191 601 614] Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

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participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

CRITERIA OF ACCULTURATION

There are many superficial criteria that could be selected to divide the population of Lone Hill into groups differing in degree of acculturation, but I prefer one that has an essential connection to the Indian value system. One well-known basic value that contrasts sharply with our general American ethic is the Indian value of generosity (Bruner 1953:23–24). This value difference has a readily observable behavioral manifestation—participation in the Indian ceremonial dances. The Indian "give-away" dance is now a secular affair, featuring Indian songs and dances and the giving of war bonnets, horses, cattle, blankets, and money as gifts to prescribed relatives, distinguished visitors, societies, and the needy. It is one of the few remaining public gatherings in Lone Hill where generosity and other Indian values are expressed, reaffirmed and maintained. The following statement by an informant aptly characterizes the emotional overtones of the dance (quoted in Merrill 1951:27):

> After the people get all painted up—this is decoration, like lipstick—and the tom-toms get going and people chanting and singing (demonstrated with a rapid beat of his feet and an ai-ai-ai chant), people get all worked up and excited. Then someone gets up and makes a speech and gives away a horse, or a beef, or two beefs, and everyone gets going and there's a lot of giving-away and many people end up with little or nothing. . . . They say that property doesn't mean anything; what counts is being friendly and generous and all friends of one another. . . . People shout and praise a person (who gives away a lot) and they talk about it long afterwards.

Not every person in Lone Hill attends the dance. Some families come with all their children, stay throughout the night, and donate generously. For them the dance is an impressive and public mechanism of socialization to Indian ways. Others virtually never attend the ceremonials, as they are more concerned with the accumulation than the giving of goods. As a result, they and their children do not participate in the one public ritual that best symbolizes and makes legitimate the traditional Indian values. One acculturated Indian man had this to say about the ceremonials:

> I never go to any dances or pow-wows. These dances are the fellows breeding grounds; they go there to drink, to raise hell, and they are not Christians. A lot of these fellows . . . go there to take some gal out . . . and get her drunk. That's all these dances are for, as far as the younger people are concerned. The older people go there to get these donations; something for nothing. . . . They take their kids there and the kids don't learn much from that. They give things away and that money can be used to educate their children, buy provisions and things. It seems like with an Indian they think they are in the spotlight; it makes them feel good. I never believed in it simply because I know most families and they can't afford to do that.

Participation in the Indian ceremonials was applied to the population of Lone Hill as a criterion of acculturation. In order to define the population, it was first necessary to delimit the community, the sample, and the unit of

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analysis. The governmental administrative divisions do not correspond to the community of Lone Hill, which is a smaller but socially more relevant unit and is recognized as such by the people themselves. All the Indian people who had an established home in the village during the latter half of 1951 were included in the sample. Lone Hill as thus defined consists of 267 residents, of whom 137 were adults over seventeen years of age, forming forty-eight nuclear families living in forty-one separate households. The nuclear family was selected as the unit of analysis rather than the isolated individual or the household, as the data suggest that acculturation in Lone Hill is related to family orientation, and the nuclear family is the only unit of socialization common to the entire population. Those nuclear families who do attend the dance regularly were put in one group; those who do not in another. The application of the criterion dichotomized the population. Of the forty-eight Indian nuclear families in Lone Hill, thirty-four families do regularly participate in the dances and fourteen families do not. Although there are some difficulties associated with these rubrics, I refer to the thirty-four families as "unacculturated" and the fourteen as "acculturated." These terms are not meant to imply absolute categories, as if one group were fully acculturated and the other were not, for our concern is with relative differences of degree. Indeed, in a later section of this paper one further subdivision will be made within the acculturated category.

If the criterion of acculturation was a good choice, there should be processes which explain how the two groupings arose. To become acculturated means, in part, to learn and internalize white ways and values from a white person. The Indian people all have contact with whites as adults but they do not all become acculturated at the same rate. Our attention is thus directed to differential exposure to and influence by white persons in the important early years of life, in the socialization process. The preliminary notion suggests itself that degree of acculturation, based upon participation in contemporary Indian culture, is associated with degree of influence by white persons in childhood. To examine this notion we should study cultural transmission and socialization over many generations. For practical reasons this is not feasible but we can determine which families in Lone Hill village have had a history of white intermarriage. In those cases in which a white person has married an Indian, there would be a white person in the domestic family situation who would thus provide a model for the children.

For purposes of this study, the presence or absence of a white model was determined for every family in Lone Hill on the basis of census data, Indian Bureau records, village genealogies, informal interviews, and in some cases extensive life history material. Any given nuclear family was said to have had a white model if either a parent, a grandparent, or a great-grandparent, or a substitute for such on either side, was a white person who actually lived with the nuclear family. Taking our point of departure from the present children, this creates a limit of four generations back, which was in part a matter of expediency as it was not possible to trace instances of white intermarriage beyond four generations. However, the limit of four generations corresponds to

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the approximate time at which the Mandan-Hidatsa abandoned their aboriginal villages and thus does represent an important historical turning point. 177 121

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through intermarriage is a cultural factor, and it should not be confused with degree of blood, a biological factor. The grandfather of one woman in Lone Hill was a white man who came up the Missouri on a steamboat, stayed a few years, and then left for parts unknown. He produced an undetermined number of children by different Indian women, but all his children were raised in Indian homes. The only cultural transmission from this white man is that some of his known descendants suspect that he may have been Irish and they jokingly celebrate St. Patrick's Day in his honor. His descendants have not had a white model, despite their one-fourth degree of white blood. In fact, there is probably not one Mandan-Hidatsa who is a biological full blood, due to the great amount of white intermarriage in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This early intermarriage has not been recorded and took place in very different historical circumstances than more recent intermarriage. 144

It was found that seventeen nuclear families have had a white model and that thirty-one families have not. When we put these data together with our criterion of acculturation, a very striking result emerges. It was previously determined that fourteen *acculturated* families *do not* regularly attend the Indian ceremonials and thirty-four *unacculturated* families *do* attend the dances. Each of the fourteen acculturated families has had a white model. Of the thirty-four unacculturated families, thirty-one have not had a white model and three have had. To state these results another way: the families who do not attend the dances have all had a white model; the families who do attend the ceremonials, with three exceptions have not had a white model. 177 121

This is indeed a striking set of facts. The importance of white intermarriage has been suggested by other students who have worked in the same culture area with related tribes, but this is, as far as I know, the first time the relationship has emerged so boldly. Voget (1952), who has delineated four socio-cultural groups among the Crow, has written of his "native" group, "It is not unreasonable to assume that the membership of this socio-cultural category consists for the most part of those of pure descent" (89), while his most acculturated group, the "American marginal," are " . . . predominantly of mixed descent" (91). Based upon her study of the Dakota Sioux, Useem (1947:375) concludes, "The full bloods, in contrast to the mixed bloods, tend to retain more of the Sioux language, to keep more of the early symbols and patterns of Dakotan life, [to reside in] full blood communities . . . , to be less educated, to prefer on-reservation to off-reservation life, and to be opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act of the Federal Government."

THE FACTOR OF ISOLATION

The explanation of why white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation must be sought in the total situation in which the people of Lone Hill find themselves. Single factor explanations do not cover the available data. It might be thought that the Indian who knows he is, and is known to be part

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white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descendants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the government grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological readjustment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

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purchased with cash income derived from productive employment are obtained by the people of Lone Hill directly from natural sources.

The paternalistic policy of the Indian Bureau has probably been more effective than the geographical isolation and the ecological setting in limiting direct social relationships between the Indian people and surrounding whites. Most of the necessary economic, educational, and welfare activities are handled by the Agency staff instead of by the Indian people. What is called paternalism arose from the necessities of an earlier historical period, during which it was a humane and just policy to aid those Indian people whose life pattern had been disrupted by American expansion. The people of Lone Hill still expect this protection today, yet they resent the associated dependency. At Fort Berthold and on other Indian reservations, this has come to be one of the most complex and pressing problems of native administration. Given the problems that exist, the current Bureau policy of withdrawal is far from an adequate solution. In a paper of this scope we can do no more than call attention to the importance of the administration as an isolating barrier between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the larger American society.

What is possibly the most important isolating factor stems from the sharp discontinuity in the unacculturated Indian life career. From the point of view of the age grading of the learning process, acculturative influences are operative primarily in the adult years. During the early formative period the unacculturated child comes to internalize Indian ways from an intimate group of close relatives in a permissive and secure atmosphere. Before he attends school the child eats Indian food, attends the ceremonial dances, and hears about the daring exploits of the Stone Hammer Society from his old grandfather. The activities of the outside world are dim and vague to the Indian child, for he rarely leaves the village and has few opportunities for direct contact with whites. He does attend an occasional movie and he listens to the radio, but the child has had no context within his own experience with which to relate these impersonal mass media. Those whites who come to Lone Hill on business deal with the adults and rarely see the children. I recorded three life histories of young adults who knew no white people until they were seven or eight years of age.

From the unacculturated child's point of view, life in Lone Hill revolves around his family, peer, and residential groups. His main satisfactions are obtained from within these groups, and the activities of their members, most of whom are relatives, form the major topics of conversation. That kinship is widely extended among the Mandan-Hidatsa takes on added meaning in this context, as all of an unacculturated Indian's emotionally charged and rewarding experiences occur within, and are shared by, the kinship group. Members of the kinship group are also the agents of cultural transmission, and from them the child learns the approved norms of conduct and patterns of social relations.

The unacculturated Indian child soon learns that his emotional security and his very identity are dependent upon his maintaining good relationships with his kinsmen. He does not derive security from acts designed merely to

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further his own ends, nor is there any pressure put upon him to realize absolute ideals. The value of generosity in this perspective, and as defined by the Indian people, is any act which promotes group welfare. Those persons who do work together on such secular affairs as road projects are said to have donated their time to the group. At a dance for his son serving in Korea, one man in Lone Hill donated "the whitewashing of the school lunch room and the repair of the grade school window sashes." As the kinship system embodies the primary societal values, a man's position in society is assured if he meets the obligations of that system at all public gatherings and in his everyday behavior in the village. If a person behaves in any way that destroys group cooperation he is not threatened or physically punished. His mother or older sister will tell him the right way, and if they are not effective his grandparents or other joking relatives will tease and ridicule him into conformity. The Mandan-Hidatsa have a tremendous elaboration of joking relationships which serve as a very effective mechanism of enforcing conformity to group norms.

By the time the unacculturated child becomes an adult, he has been so effectively socialized to Indian ways that white contact has very little influence. But the adult reality is such that he must live in a superordinate white world. This is the sharp discontinuity in his life career. Every Indian must deal with members of white society in order to perform necessary economic and educational activities. The unacculturated Indian does not change himself to become like a white person; instead he learns how to adjust to white people. One informant described the technique as follows: "We Indians are just like those lizards that change their colors. When we are with whites we act one way and when we are with Indians we act another way." I think this kind of compartmentalized behavior is called "situational role specificity"—but possibly the analogy of the chameleon has a virtue of its own. In a sense, the unacculturated people of Lone Hill come to learn two cultures, but it is a case of differential learning with different points of origin. The unacculturated Indian character is incorporated into the child in his formative years, while a superficial knowledge of white culture and of the techniques of adjustment to white people are learned primarily in adulthood. The unacculturated people of Lone Hill are not torn with inner conflict between two worlds; they just internalize the Indian way as children and learn aspects of the white way as a necessary accessory when they become adults. Erikson (1950:115) in his study of the Sioux was intrigued by this point:

> This, it seemed to us, was the most astonishing single fact to be investigated: That Indian children could live for years without open rebellion or any signs of inner conflict between two standards which were incomparably further apart than those of any two generations or two classes in our culture.

The unacculturated Indian does not internalize white ways as an adult, not because all learning stops in childhood, but because of the vast cultural differences between members of the two groups, the nature of the situations in which adult Indian-white interaction occurs, and the attitudes of white

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people toward Indians. Indian relationships to whites are made difficult by the many points of incompatibility between their respective value systems. The unacculturated Indian does not work hard and long in order to accumulate land, goods, and status symbols, as this behavior is disapproved in Indian society. The Indian does not receive prestige for persistent efforts to become "successful," and he finds no necessity to establish a good credit rating. Respectable whites often regard unacculturated Indians as lazy and irresponsible; Indian people in turn see much white behavior as stingy.

While a few local whites fanatically reject all Indians, many do make genuine efforts to educate and elevate Indian peoples. Many of these sincere attempts to "help" Indians are done with the implicit belief that the white way is superior to the Indian way, and thus they involve a comparison in which the Indian is deemed unworthy. It is difficult to influence another person if your expressed intention is to change him in a direction which you advertise as being better. These efforts, which usually are directed at social and economic betterment, are based upon the white ethic which most Indians either cannot understand or do not want to accept, and thus they create an insurmountable barrier to learning.

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The Indian people have few opportunities to participate in active social organizations that include members of both cultures. The social roles that Indians can adopt in relation to whites are severely limited and few effective channels of communication exist. Those younger unacculturated Indians who leave Lone Hill to attend high school and off-reservation boarding schools do have the opportunity to increase their interaction with white people, but the vast majority of the adults of the village have not completed grade school. Indians and whites meet at such recreational activities as county fairs, dances, rodeos, and athletic events, but these are temporary affairs and the interaction takes place mainly between younger Indians and the lower-class segment if local white society. Most of the interaction between unacculturated Indians and whites is not only impersonal but it is atomistic in that individuals meet as individuals for specific and unitary purposes. The Indian meets the white man in the role of customer or employee, not as a total human being. In general, the unacculturated Indian finds relationships within the kinship group rewarding; but his impersonal atomistic relationships with outside whites tend to be unrewarding and often are punishing.

The presence of a white model in the nuclear family through the mechanism of white intermarriage is a prerequisite for acculturation in Lone Hill. If the people of the village were not physically isolated but were living in proximity to whites, if the natural resources did not satisfy so many economic needs, if the Indian Bureau had not fostered dependency, if the unacculturated children were not so effectively socialized to a life pattern wherein their emotional security depended upon relationships within the kinship group, if Indians did not utilize techniques of adjustment to whites, if the Indian and white value systems were not so incompatible, if white attitudes toward Indians did not create a barrier to learning, and if Indians had the opportunity to integrate into white social organizations—then white intermarriage might not be so

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important. As these conditions do exist, the transmission of white ways in an intimate family group becomes the major mechanism of acculturation.

SOCIAL INTERACTION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

The thirty-four unacculturated families are isolated from surrounding whites, but they do have contact with the fourteen acculturated families who reside in the village. The acculturated group are a potential source of rapid culture change, and their influence could lead to the spread of white ways throughout the entire population of Lone Hill. But this does not happen. The cultural innovations initiated by the acculturated families are generally not accepted by the unacculturated majority. Why this is so may be understood by first making an additional distinction among the fourteen acculturated families and then describing the social interaction among the groupings that emerge.

A further differentiation is found when the criterion of acculturation is reapplied to the fourteen families who do not regularly attend the Indian ceremonials. Table 1 presents a final summary of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Seven families virtually never attend the dances; we continue to refer to them as acculturated. The remaining seven families, henceforth to be called "marginal," do participate in the ceremonials when they are in the village. However, the seven marginal families do not live in Lone Hill for more than six to eight months of the year. For the rest of the year, during their off-reservation periods, they interact with whites and with Indians from other tribes. Marginal families and individuals may leave abruptly by automobile for South Dakota, Montana, or even California, and stay away for months at a time. They are called marginal specifically because their shifting pattern of residence prevents them from regularly attending the Indian ceremonials and from fully participating in village culture. While they are living in Lone Hill, the marginal families interact primarily with unacculturated Indians. They are very active in community affairs, seem to uphold Indian beliefs and values, and at times are among the staunchest defenders of traditional Indian ways. Despite their varied experiences outside Lone Hill, the marginal families do not initiate major cultural change within the village.

Table 1.—Group Differences in Mandan-Hidatsa Acculturation

Degree of Acculturation	White Model in Household	
	Absent	Present
Unacculturated	31	3
Marginal	0	7
Acculturated	0	7

Observation indicates that members of the marginal families are restless, unsatisfied, rather unpredictable, and some are psychologically unstable. In every one of these seven families there is a constant pattern of excessive drinking and fighting, and every adult male has a jail record for committing minor offenses. One of these men is a severe alcoholic, while a second has spent almost three years in a state asylum where he was diagnosed as a case of

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dementia praecox. The latter travels all over the United States as a hobo, but always returns to the village. A third marginal male went AWOL from the Army, and was once sentenced to three years in the penitentiary for forgery. Still another individual, although married, has admitted to the paternity of three children by three different off-reservation women, and action has been taken in two of the cases for nonsupport.

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The relationships between the seven acculturated families and the thirty-four unacculturated families are characterized by much hostility and a low frequency of social interaction. The acculturated people rarely visit at unacculturated homes, do not participate in the dances or other community activities, and make special efforts to keep their children isolated from the unacculturated children. White "middle class" values are the criteria by which the acculturated Indian appraises his worth and evaluates himself, even though he is not a member of any white social group. Some acculturated individuals actually over-react to those white standards which form the basis for white disapproval of Indian behavior. One man in the village never touches a drop of liquor, is very active in the Christian Church, is up for breakfast every morning by seven, accumulates land and money to the point of being miserly, and will pay every debt before it is due. The acculturated Indians not only reject traditional Indian ways; they often will openly and severely criticize Indian behavior. They have become spokesmen within Lone Hill for those whites who feel that the solution to the Indian "problem" is to destroy the old culture. For the acculturated individual it is inevitable that the Indian people must live in a white world. They see the unacculturated Indians as holding back the course of progress to the detriment of all. The unacculturated majority feel that the acculturated families have taken for themselves what belongs to everyone, have violated the primary Indian values of generosity and emphasis on group welfare, and are "in cahoots" with the Indian Bureau against the best interests of the Indian people. They see the acculturated Indians as traitors and collaborationists.

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Acculturated Indians actively seek to increase their interaction with middle class whites, as they need their approval and support. White people tend to accept the acculturated Indian because he behaves in accordance with the middle class ethic and is docile in his relations to whites. Almost without exception, when whites make their infrequent trips to Lone Hill they visit at the homes of a handful of acculturated families. As a consequence, the unacculturated Indians are further isolated from white contact in the village. During the first two weeks that my wife and I lived in Lone Hill, a nearby acculturated family brought us fresh milk, butter, and rolls, offered to drive us around the area, invited us to supper, and was even ready to discuss how we could best obtain rapport with the older Indian people. The acculturated families sought us out, while we had to take the initiative in meeting the unacculturated families.

Many government employees and surrounding whites feel that acculturated Indians are outstanding examples of what any individual Indian could achieve given the requisite ambition. Acculturated Indians have a virtual

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177 monopoly of the numerous benefits and services to be derived from the Indian Bureau and they often seek and obtain employment with the Bureau. They are all economically successful cattlemen compared with the unacculturated Indians who derive their cash income primarily from lease money, relief, and seasonal farm work. According to the Extension Agent's report for the year 1951, the seven acculturated families owned from twenty-nine to 149 head of cattle, a total for all families of 514, and an average of approximately seventy-three. Eighteen of the thirty-four unacculturated families owned no cattle at all. The sixteen unacculturated families with cattle had a range per family of one to fifty-two head, a total for all families of 395, and an average of approximately twenty-five cattle per family.

177 At Fort Berthold, as on many other Indian reservations, there are two political factions which locally are called the "Yes" or progressive group and 621 the "No" or conservative faction. The basis for leadership is different in each faction. In the conservative group, leadership is based upon personal qualities combined with the inheritance of sacred bundles from older chiefs, while for the progressive group it is based upon white standards of achievement. There is no clear-cut correlation between degree of acculturation and affiliation with any one faction, as the membership of each faction varies with the particular issue involved, but the nucleus of the progressive faction is derived from the acculturated families and the nucleus of the conservative faction from the unacculturated and marginal groups. These political differences are one manifestation of the larger processes which lead to different sociocultural groupings, for Lone Hill is a community divided into two conflicting and relatively noninteracting social groups.

177 Thus the acculturated families do not precipitate rapid change within the village because of the mutual hostility and mistrust generated between them- 167 selves and the remainder of the community. An additional factor is that the membership of the acculturated group is constantly being depleted, as accul- 161 turated individuals tend to leave the village. The children of the acculturated families, who have the greatest potentiality for initiating change, do not remain in Lone Hill, as they have internalized the values of white society and as there are so few opportunities presented to them within the village. Of the seven acculturated families, there are three in which the parents are over fifty years of age and in which the children are all over twenty years old. In every one of these families, all or the majority of the children have left Lone Hill. In the remaining four families the parents are between the ages of twenty-six and forty-two, and the oldest child is fifteen. While these children are not old enough to leave and seek employment elsewhere, each of their parents has either a brother or sister who has left. The parents of the acculturated children, most of whom have built up successful cattle operations, are tied to Lone Hill. Their goal is to see their children become accepted members of white society. Despite the departure of the acculturated people and of others, the population continues to increase because of the fertility of the resident population. Since 1910, the population of enrolled members of the

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Fort Berthold tribes has increased on an average of 3.8 percent per year (Riefel 1952:87–100).

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It is interesting to note that the process of change in which acculturated individuals leave, thereby making for the persistence of traditional ways within the village, had its counterpart in the historical period from 1740 to 1890. As individuals and as family groups, those Mandan and Hidatsa who preferred the Plains warrior-hunting life changed tribal affiliations and left their sedentary villages to join a nomad tribe (Bowers MS). As Holder (1950) has shown, this intertribal exchange of personnel reflected the development of a deep conflict in the earth-lodge social organization based upon the allocation of prestige. Aboriginal Mandan and Hidatsa society was stratified into classes, with the cultural rewards reserved for a select nobility who inherited the sacred tribal bundles (Bowers 1950). Many young men, born into less fortunate matrilineal kin groups who owned no bundles and who had been exposed to nomadic life, tried to achieve recognition through accomplishments in warfare and through vision experiences. These young men, placed in disadvantageous positions in the social structure, tended to leave their villages to become nomads. The Cheyenne and the Crow as cultures, adopted nomadism (Strong 1940); among the Mandan and Hidatsa, individuals became nomads by changing cultures. Thus, both in the past and in the present, those dissatisfied with the traditional Indian ways of the majority group left the village. This mode of change seems to be characteristic of the Mandan-Hidatsa, and is a general process with time depth.

THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

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White intermarriage may be a necessary condition but it is not in itself a sufficient condition for acculturation in Lone Hill. Of the seventeen families who have had a white model through intermarriage, seven are acculturated, seven marginal and three unacculturated. The presence of a white person in the nuclear family does no more than create the possibility that the children of the mixed marriage will learn white ways. Cultural transmission is not merely an automatic transferal from the past in which parents mechanically stamp their culture into the child. Some of the white men who married Mandan-Hidatsa women may well have preferred to assimilate to Indian ways and may not have passed their understanding of white ways on to their offspring, while others may have desired that their children learn American ways but may not have implemented that desire in the socialization process. As it is no longer possible to study the original family situations in which a white man married an Indian woman, we cannot determine why those original parents have adopted the acculturated, marginal, or unacculturated life pattern. But partial understanding of the process involved may be obtained by an examination of cultural transmission in the contemporary families.

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There are two steps by which an individual in Lone Hill becomes acculturated; first there must be a white model, so that at least one of the parents has a fundamental understanding of American culture, and second, the

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177 867 parents must consciously, deliberately, and actively train their children to become like whites (Inkeles 1955). Children in Lone Hill and probably elsewhere are prepared for a world conceived by their parents which is in part dependent upon what the parents expect their children to be. Cultural transmission is as much a projection into the future as it is a heritage from the past. This emerges most clearly from an examination of the age-grading of language learning in the village. Lone Hill is a bilingual community in that Hidatsa is spoken in daily contact and at public gatherings, while all but two of the 137 adults also speak English. In part because of a widespread belief in the village that, as one informant expressed it, " . . . it is confusing for a child to learn two languages at once," the majority of the families in this bilingual community decide between Hidatsa and English as a first language for their offspring. Their choice provides one convenient criterion for distinguishing those families who are preparing their children for a life in Lone Hill as opposed to those families who are preparing their children for a life with whites outside the village.

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Table 2 shows, for each family in Lone Hill, the language spoken in the home, which is the first language learned by the children of that family.

Table 2.—Language Spoken in the Home

Degree of Acculturation	Hidatsa	Hidatsa & English	English
Unacculturated	25	1	5
Unacculturated (white model)	2	1	—
Marginal	4	1	2
Acculturated	1	1	5

In the majority of the unacculturated homes the children are taught Hidatsa as a first language and learn to speak English when they attend school. In these families, knowledge of English is one acculturative influence that does not arise from early learning in the home but is acquired from agents outside the home after the child has reached the age of seven or eight. In the five unacculturated families in which English is spoken, a Mandan-Hidatsa resident of the village has married a member of an alien tribe, so that one spouse does not understand Hidatsa. English is spoken by necessity rather than by choice. In five of the acculturated houses the parents, although they know Hidatsa, speak only English to their children. Many of these children never learn the Indian language. One acculturated family sent its eldest child to the Lone Hill day school. The boy, who spoke only English, was soon withdrawn and sent to a white school in a nearby town, after the parents discovered that their child was learning to speak Hidatsa in the village school. This story is often repeated among the acculturated families who now send their children to off-reservation schools. Language usage structures much of the life-way usage, for invariably the Indian child who comes to school with a knowledge of English is considered more intelligent by his teachers and finds it easier to interact with whites and thereby learn more white ways.

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It is to be emphasized that individuals in Lone Hill do not become acculturated by chance; their parents consciously and actively prepare them for a life in the white world. To be "white-oriented" is not sufficient. Almost all the adult Indian people in Lone Hill would like the approval of whites, may seek membership in white social groups, may empathize with white authority figures, may consider themselves as a "we" group with most Americans on particular issues such as opposition to communism, have adopted and understood some aspects of white culture, are able to act in white ways as a manipulatory technique in certain situations, desire American material objects, and often compare themselves with whites. After the members of the village understood the kind of information I was seeking, individuals would come and tell me themselves if they were preparing their children for a life in the Indian or the white way. One middle-aged widow came over to our home and announced, "I don't want my kids to lose their language. They speak Hidatsa and I teach them the Indian ways."

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The following conversation with Oliver Brown, a twenty-six year old veteran, and his wife, Marie, occurred toward the end of my field trip and clearly indicates that the Brown family are raising their children to emulate whites and to reject Indian ways. I knew the family well enough to take notes during the interview and reproduce them below, almost verbatim. The interview was one of a series in which I asked the parents of all the English-speaking families why they decided to teach English to their children when others in the village were taught and spoke Hidatsa. Oliver has just started in the cattle business and already has sixty-five head. Theirs is the only Indian home in Lone Hill with a bottle gas refrigerator, stove, deep freeze, and oil heater. They now have four children; a boy of three, another of two, and twin girls less than a year old. On this occasion, Oliver was watching the children, I was seated at the kitchen table, while Marie was washing the dinner dishes. I started the conversation by asking what language they had first learned at home.

MARIE: My mother used to tell us kids about Indian ways but we learned English first, and I never picked up Hidatsa good.

OLIVER: [directing his remarks to me] When kids are brought up to speak Hidatsa they have a hard time in school. I learned Hidatsa and Mandan first, both together, and then English in school. And I had a tough time of it at Marty [an off-reservation Catholic boarding school]. I felt out of place there. My kids will be brought up to speak English, strictly English.

MARIE: But they are Indians and it's in them and they will learn Indian.

OLIVER: [in an impatient tone to his wife] I don't care if they never learn to speak Indian. The Indian language don't get them no place or anything higher. [Oliver turned to me] I want my kids to get an education and make a good living some day. They'll have to mix among the whites and go to school among the whites outside. For their own good, not for my good, I want them to mix with whites and not be among Indians.

BRUNER: After your boys finish school, do you think they might want to come back here and work in your cattle business?

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177 OLIVER: They could if I build it up. But they would make a better living if they get an education and get out and not stay around here.

861 BRUNER: Why don't you want them to be among Indians?

181 OLIVER: As long as they make a good living it doesn't make any difference if they mix with Indians or whites.

124 MARIE: As long as they mix with the right kind of people!

OLIVER: [to his wife] Education is the whole thing. If they have an education they will mix with the right kind of people, that's understood.

BRUNER: Who are the right kind of people?

OLIVER: The people that try to get somewhere, that want to make an easier living for themselves, that build up and save. Take John and Bill Fast Leg. They're good for nothing. They don't care about anything. They just live; tomorrow is just another day for them.

[At this point we had a long discussion of particular people in Lone Hill to determine exactly who the Browns considered to be the right kind of people—those with whom they would like to see their children associate. The right kind of people were the children of the group that the Browns currently associate with—acculturated people like themselves. When the unacculturated Rainbow family was mentioned, I remarked that their daughter, Flora Rainbow, had never said one word to either my wife or myself, even though we had visited her house many times and were friendly with her parents. To this Oliver made the following comment.]

OLIVER: That's because they're too backward. They don't care to associate except with their own class. Flora won't even talk to Marie! They were brought up that way; it's in their blood, I guess. They were brought up with the Indian language and never heard an English word until they were seven years old. That's what that does!

MARIE: When you visit there you don't feel welcome. I never felt at ease with them.

OLIVER: They're just backward.

MARIE: That's why we want our kids to go out and mix. If they stayed here they would be just like them.

FT7 The future state envisioned by the Browns, in which they see their children as accepted members of white society, may or may not become an actuality. My data indicate that the total process of acculturation, from the mixed marriage to the time individuals drift off to seek their places in white society, takes three, four, or more generations for completion (cf. Keesing 1954:90; Hallowell 1952:106). In Oliver Brown's case, his grandfather was a white man, a Civil War deserter who married an Indian woman, and his father, Jim Brown, was a successful farmer on the reservation. Oliver's sister, who no longer lives in Lone Hill, had this to say about their father:

177 861 Jim Brown pounded into us kids about working. Saving money and all that. Jim preaches today about white man's ways like get up in the morning like the white man does, and buying things that would get us ahead. He told us to try to finish school and go to college and get jobs outside. He taught us against donating, though he did it himself. But he always said it never got him anywhere. I don't believe in that donating stuff now. I guess it was just pounded into us.

That Jim Brown " . . . taught us against donating, though he did it himself," was found to be a pattern in all of the acculturated families. The parents raised

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their children to become like whites even though they continued to adhere to many Indian ways and values. As one informant expressed it, "Jim Brown played two parts."

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It is probable that many of the unacculturated families have not remained unacculturated by choice, for in some cases they too have aspirations that they and their children may live in the white world. But the total situation in Lone Hill is such that the unacculturated families lack both sufficient understanding of white ways and realistic opportunities by which they may live successfully in middle class white society. As an illustration, selected because it is admittedly extreme, I present the case of Paul Beaver, a middle-aged unacculturated Indian who decided to move to a large city in North Dakota with his wife and eight children. He lived in a hotel where his expenses were far beyond the family's meager earnings, and they existed by borrowing money until they ran up a huge debt. The man was employed as a helper in a paint shop and one winter day he heated the paint to make it smooth. The paint exploded, burned down the shop, and caused damages estimated at $50,000. Paul Beaver was promptly fired from his job. At one time he planned to tour the country with an Indian show, but he had no agent, no conception of where to go, and no advance booking. Another time he had the idea of setting up a wood carving store in a large city. He carves only one item, small Indian heads, which he has never sold, nor did he know if there was a market in the city for Indian heads. Although Paul Beaver has made three or four attempts within the last thirty years to leave Lone Hill, he readily adjusts to life in the village when he returns. Those unacculturated families who live in Lone Hill as a second choice can do so effectively and with ease, without the inner conflict and vacillating identifications of the marginal families. Paul Beaver is an announcer at the Indian dances, an officer in one of the village societies, and he receives recognition and satisfaction in traditional Indian ways. He speaks lightly of his off-reservation experiences, and with considerable humor.

CONCLUSION

The interplay of two factors, the presence or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the conscious preparation of children by their parents for an adult life in the Indian or white world, has led to a preliminary definition of the basis of group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation.

1. Thirty-one unacculturated families attend the Indian dances, have not had a white model, and train their children to live among the people of Lone Hill village. Although their culture is mixed and continually changing, the unacculturated families have relatively clear-cut identifications with and adjustment to contemporary reservation culture.

2. Seven acculturated families do not attend the dances, have had a white model, and prepare their children for a life among whites outside the village. Members of the acculturated families have not been passive agents adjusting to forces impinging upon them. Individuals within the acculturated group are active and creative agents in the acculturation process, who change them-

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177 selves, their children, and their culture. The presence of the American generational kinship system and other cultural changes in Lone Hill (Bruner 1955) were the result of conscious efforts by individuals to bring about these changes through their children.

3. The remaining ten families have had a white model; three follow the unacculturated life pattern, and seven marginal families periodically shift their residence from Indian to white society. The marginal families are bicultural; they have a dual model of the universe situationally defined.

Given the total situation as it exists in Lone Hill, early experience in the nuclear family is decisive in the acculturative process. We may even hazard the guess that unless there is a major change in the total milieu, acculturation in Lone Hill will continue to be dependent upon social learning in small family groups.

NOTES

000 [1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 53rd meeting of the American Anthropological Association held in Detroit, December, 1954. The Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago and a Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellowship provided financial support for field work. Elaine-Carol Bruner, Donald T. Campbell, Dorothy Eggan, Fred Eggan, Omar K. Moore, George P. Murdock, Robert Redfield, Sol Tax, Sherry Washburn, and especially two fellow fieldworkers, Robert Merrill and Robert Reitz, have generously offered suggestions at various stages of this work. Their cumulative aid has indeed been considerable.

101 [2] Lone Hill is the Indian name for the community. Names of all informants mentioned in this paper are pseudonyms.

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